
ONE CARTOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL NETWORKS EFFECTS ON THE SUBJECTIVITY

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ABSTRACT. The aim of this study is to map the potential repercussion or influences of online social networks on the subjectivity of its users. The conceptions and the underlying meanings from the experiences of the participants, in terms of self-presentation and interaction in this environment, constituted the object of study of this investigation. The methodology was based on a qualitative study with basis on semi-structured interviews with sixteen Facebook users, of both sexes, different ages, ethnicities, and socioeconomic levels. Data interpretation was performed through a dialogue between the conception of prêt-à-porter subjectivity and notions from psychoanalysis. As positive factors, the potential to expand the forms of sociability, learning, empowerment, and psychic elaboration was confirmed. On the other hand, the risk of investing production and socialization time, and the occurrence of the sense of watching and being watched. The results also highlighted the eruption elements of subjectivity of users which have become visible and articulated through texts and images, bringing with it new challenges not only for the psychoanalytic device and for those who work with mental health, but also for other professionals areas related to psychology, education and health.

Keywords: Social networks; mental health; subjectivity.

UMA CARTOGRAFIA DAS REPERCUSSÕES DAS REDES SOCIAIS NA SUBJETIVIDADE

RESUMO. O objetivo deste artigo é mapear as possíveis repercussões ou influências das redes sociais de *internet* na subjetividade de seus usuários. As concepções e sentidos subjacentes à vivência dos participantes, em termos da autoapresentação e interação nesse ambiente, constituíram-se no objeto de estudo desta investigação. A metodologia fundamentou-se na pesquisa qualitativa com base na observação participante e em entrevistas semiestruturadas com 16 participantes do facebook, de ambos os sexos, de diferentes idades, etnias e níveis socioeconômicos. A interpretação dos dados foi efetuada por meio de um diálogo entre a concepção de subjetividade *prêt-à-porter* e noções da psicanálise. Como fatores positivos, constatou-se o potencial de ampliação das formas de sociabilidade, de aprendizagem, de empoderamento e de elaboração psíquica. Por outro lado, evidenciaram-se o risco de inversão do tempo de produção e de socialização e a ocorrência do sentido de vigiar e ser vigiado. Os resultados ressaltam ainda outros elementos da subjetividade dos usuários que se tornaram visíveis e articuláveis por meio de textos e imagens, trazendo consigo novos desafios não somente para o dispositivo psicanalítico e para aqueles que atuam com saúde mental, mas também para os demais profissionais de áreas afins à psicologia, educação e saúde.

Palavras-chave: Redes sociais; saúde mental; subjetividade.

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UNA CARTOGRAFÍA DE REPERCUSIONES DE LAS REDES SOCIALES EN LA SUBJETIVIDAD

RESUMEN. El objetivo de este artículo es mapear las posibles repercusiones o influencias de las redes sociales de *internet* en la subjetividad de los usuarios. Las concepciones y significados simbólicos subyacentes a las experiencias de los participantes, en términos de auto-presentación e interacción en este medio, se constituyeron en el objeto de estudio de esta investigación. La metodología se fundamentó en la investigación cualitativa con base en la observación participante y en entrevistas semiestructuradas con dieciséis participantes de Facebook, de ambos sexos, de diferentes edades, etnias y niveles socioeconómicos. La interpretación de los datos se realizó por medio de un diálogo entre la concepción de la subjetividad *prêt-à-porter* y nociones del psicoanálisis. Como factores positivos, se constató el potencial de expansión de las formas de sociabilidad, de aprendizaje y de elaboración psíquica. Se evidenció el riesgo de invertir el tiempo de producción y la socialización, y la ocurrencia del sentido de vigilar y ser vigilado. Por otro lado, los resultados resaltaron aún otros elementos de la subjetividad de los usuarios que se han hecho visibles y articuladas por medio de textos e imágenes, trayendo con él nuevos desafíos no solamente para el dispositivo psicoanalítico y para aquellos que actúan con la salud mental, sino también para profesionales de áreas afines a la psicología, educación y salud.

Palabras-clave: Redes sociales; salud mental; subjetividad.

Introduction

The possible repercussions of internet's social networks in its users subjectivity has become a challenging theme, and at the same time it arises controversy in studies. Currently, the so-called Network Society (Castells, 1999) has become an inexorable reality in our lives due to the fact that most part of the world population uses social network on a daily basis. Since this is relatively a novel theme, investigation has grown and show some of the influences of such practice in society and in participants' subjectivity; however, with respect to the subjectivity, there is the need to point out what are these allegedly repercussions in order to achieve substantial development in this rich field of study.

Researches on this theme high light different types of repercussions, such as the advent of an exteriorized subjectivity, solitary, with no time to self-reflection (Moreira, 2010). On the other hand, these studies also show the come about of a more interactive subjectivity, with more possibilities than the previous subjectivity prior to the interaction with Internet gadgets (Sakamoto & Fernandes, 2012). Still in this context of exploration of the results obtained by scholars, one important is the divergence between the conception that interpersonal relationships mediated by social network contribute to its users well-being (Cerrato, Pou, & Aznar, 2012) and the notion that there are narcissistic tendencies expressed in this environment, which tend to harm the users' self-esteem (Mehdizadeh, 2010).

Given the evident polarity in the results attained in these researches, a necessity arises to clarify which are the characteristics of these alleged repercussions and to what extent they are grouped, are opposite, or concur. Therefore, in this panorama, the goal of this paper is to analyze the possible effects or consequences of internet social networks in its users' subjectivity considering the meanings they attribute to the repercussions of this new world habitus. In order to do so, it has been conducted an investigation in which it was analyzed the opinion of 16 social network users, from both sexes, and different ethnicity/skin color, ages, socioeconomic levels. The results were mapped according to the cartographic method aiming at demonstrating some particularities of the users' subjectivity, whose effects of the access to a myriad of resources and gadgets offered by social networks remain a mystery.

Method

With the intention of attending to the main goal of this paper, we adopted a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2014) and we opted for the following methods of data collection: observation of participants, and semi structured interviews (Groeben, 1990). The webpage Facebook was chosen as empirical basis to observe the activity of participants, due to the representativeness of this social network compared to

others. At first the observation of participants was used as a means to analyze the first signals of the modus in which the interactions were established in social networks (self presentation and interaction in this environment). After this first part, the volunteers were selected to participate in the research through semi-structured interviews.

Participated in this research 16 Facebook users. They were selected according convenience and according to the following inclusion criteria: sex and ethnicity/skin color, socioeconomic level, and age. After receiving the invite from the researcher, participants volunteered and indicated other possible candidates to take part in the research, according to a procedure called "snow ball" (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981).

In order to compare reports, participants were subdivided into two segments: 8 male and 8 female, among which 4 declared themselves white and the other 4 declared themselves black; 4 were of low socioeconomic level, and 4 were of high socioeconomic level. Regarding their birth, 8 were born before de decade of 1990, and the other 8 participants were born after such decade, which was declared as the historical period with the creation of the first social network website, *SixDegrees* (Lemos & Levy, 2010). Participants born before social networks were between 24 and 35 years old, and declared the following occupations: public server, housekeeping, manager, autonomous professional, teacher, unemployed, receptionist, and travel agent. Participants born after social networks were between 8 and 20 years old, and only one declared not being a student.

The categorization of socioeconomic levels was made according to the Brazil Criteria of Economic Classification. The classes A1, A2, B1, and B2 are considered to be high socioeconomic level; and classes C1, C2, D, and E are considered to be low socioeconomic levels.

The interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and analyzed by the first author. All material was sent to the participants via email in order to obtain their feedback on the analyses.

The analysis and the interpretation of the data were carried out in an cross disciplinary manner and via the mapping of the Facebook users' opinion subdivided by segments. The notion of cartography of senses attributed to the repercussions of social networks in subjectivity was inspired in the tenets of Cartography of Desires, elaborated by Rolnik (1989). Following this theoretical perspective, the cartography intended to go beyond the proposal of understanding and revealing how this phenomenon takes place in social practices. Under this point of view, we sought to establish "language bridges" that allows us to discuss expressive intensities of the process of subjective reality. In this sense, the present cartographic map intends to demonstrate the expression of strategies of formation of desire in social field, in this case, in the participation of users in activities developed in social environments.

Ethic considerations

All participants signed the Free Consent form. The names used to represent participants in this paper are fictitious, and the research that originated the present paper was approved by the Ethics and Research Committee of the Catholic University of Brasilia, under the protocol: CEP/UCB: 13451013.9.000.00.029.

Results and discussion

The idea that Internet social networks constitute a new modality of communication and of interaction has been present in all narratives, which constitutes a consensus among all participants. Unanimously all users who were interviewed said that they experience social networks as a new way of communicating or of interacting; a different, more effective and cheaper way of communicating in relation to other conventional means of communication.

Although there has not been any significant discrepancies concerning the opinions of the users of different segments analyzed, the possible derivations of this notion shared by every participant is that, in using social media, "we are more in contact with our friends and relatives", "we have contact with more

people”, “we can follow other people’s lives”, “meet people again”, “we have more visibility”, and “we are more at ease to speak up”.

In considering the senses that emerge from the tension between the flux of intensities and the representations that constitute these new existential territories, it is interesting to highlight that these senses corroborate to a certain extent the conception from the academic literature that points to a tendency of users to experience internet gadgets as a liberating channel, which brings about the desire to be connected (Fortin & Araujo, 2013). According to participants, it is possible for one to express themselves, think and even perceive the world in a distinctive way. Thus one of the aspects that called our attention in analyzing the interviews is that even the members of the segment of participants who were born after the advent of internet social media do not diverge with respect these senses shared about “the networks being a new modality of interaction and communication”. An example of this conception is found in the opinion registered given by Valentina. Although she was just 8 years old and has been using social media “for a long time”, she states the change in the communication since she started using social media: “Communication, because, when the person does not use Facebook, they cannot communicate to people who spend time together because they want to communicate, share”.

In first sight, we observe the intention to maintain contact with people. However, we perceive that this new communication modality and interaction acquires an underlying sense of socialization. Socialization, in this sense, has great relevance to participants, since, as stated by Valentina, involves power or not being able to communicate and interacting. Thus it becomes a way to be inserted in social environment and to be a part of the contacts and of the groups to which they belong.

In overcoming the barriers of time and space in face-to-face communication, as it has been reported by Valentina and in the literature (Rosa & Santos, 2013), this new modality of communication and interaction is a new important gadget to users in what concerns maintaining contact with others. As a result, the effect of this practice of social interaction and of communication via social media is perceived as empowerment.

Learning and empowerment

Besides the possibility of communicating, interacting, being accessible to others, being inserted in social environments, and seeing how others perform the same activities in these networks, the fact that users are inserted in these networks gives users a sense of power. This sense can be defined, in a broad sense, as being able to see, to know, to think, to be in contact, to express, to influence, and, consequently, to perform different activities. Therefore, this empowerment, in line with the senses attributed by the participants, unfolds in being able to do, and, consequently, being able to be different from what they are in their off-line lives, outside social media.

Regarding this shared sense of being able to be different from what one is in off-line life, some participants describe the possibility of knowing more about people and about themselves. Participants Rafaela and Rodrigo, respectively, have reported their perceptions on other people: “he seemed to be something he wasn’t”, and, “down deep, his truth is different, he’s vulnerable, he’s weak, he’s got no opinion, he’s the opposite”. Other participants revealed that it is possible to know more about oneself, overcome personal difficulties, and, what is more, learning new words when using social media. Participants Gustavo and Veronica, respectively, informed that: “Before I was shy and didn’t talk very much. Now I talk more.”, and “You start to talk better because you learn new words. I read sentences, I see words that I don’t know and I look them up, I practice their pronunciation”. These reports demonstrate that the senses we designate to empowerment refers to the notion of being able to go beyond ordinary possibilities in off-line life through the use of resources and gadgets offered by social media.

It is important to highlight that the sense of empowerment was observed having greater expression in narratives produced by users of low socioeconomic levels (Classes C1, C2), mainly among those who were born after the advent of internet and social media. They reported that the fact of being able to interact and to communicate in social media allowed them to learn new words, search for their meanings, train their spelling and pronunciation. As a consequence, these users were able to broaden their vocabulary and acquire self-confidence to talk to and to interact with other people. The effect of this practice to some participants was that of broadening of the lexicon and their linguistic knowledge, as well

as their social skills. Consequently, they affirmed that they felt less timid and more confident in face-to-face interaction, outside social media. This evidence suggests a generalization effect.

The conception of empowerment brings with it a relevant and innovative aspect, that of inclusion of the population less financially and socially favored in processes of informal learning, social inclusion, and emotional support offered by this interactive medium. Different from the decline in the subjective well-being of young people attested by Kross et al. (2013), the sense of empowerment attested in our research points to a direction in which communicative processes are favorable to digital inclusion and is circumscribed in a host of derived senses from the notion of being able to be different, of being able to learn from it, and being able to participate of what happens in and out of social media.

In academic literature, the phenomenon of empowerment at the individual level has been studied based on the notion of appropriation of social capital (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007). Our results corroborate this line of reasoning and show that users of low socioeconomic levels are likely to profit from such an appropriation. What is more, once there is the possibility of improving their linguistic capacities, as stated by some participants, we can agree that these medias may constitute as a learning environment.

The sense of empowerment, in this line of reasoning, is a factor of appropriation of communicative and interactional aptitudes, as well as emotional and social support, which may contribute not only to social insertion of less favored socioeconomic classes, mainly youngsters and teenagers, but also to the overcome of personal difficulties, such as timidity. In this sense, besides propitiating social insertion, the phenomenon of empowerment might also benefit to these people in what concerns the facing of circumstances derived from their socioeconomic condition and typical crises proper of certain life stages, such as teenagehood (Erikson, 1972). The result of this repercussion, considered here as positive, is that these users may feel more secure and more included in their groups and in society in general. However, with no doubt, they will tend to experiment this sense of empowerment in a peculiar form in their interactional dynamics, and, therefore, subjective.

The sense of psychic elaboration

In the axis of analysis composed of nuclei of sense already mentioned in this study – new modality of communication and interaction, learning, and empowerment –, another relevant nucleus of sense comes about in this woven of subjective production from the users of social media. Significant in participants' narratives, this nucleus figures as a source to be explored in our cartographic map, and it converges with the conception of empowerment, which we will call here psychic elaboration. Elaboration, because some participants mentioned they use social media not only as a way to free self-expression, or even as a scape valve, but also as a resource that allows them to elaborate conflicts and difficulties they face, which they recognize as their own.

In the following report by Rafaela, we can observe that, besides expressing herself and experiencing an alleged sense of power, there is the sense of facing difficult situations and vital dramas, as well as the elaboration of content that generate internal conflicts:

But this helped me elaborate. It is so because I have difficulty in feeling the age I am, even because I do not appear to be this age, I have always looked younger. Well, in posting the countdown I managed to elaborate and felt prepared.

In this excerpt it should be noted the participant states her difficulty in coping with her age and in preparing herself to deal with the situation. Rafaela expresses her elaboration experience, as she states herself. Elaboration in this case is defined as the re-edition, and, in a certain way, the negotiation of internal contexts, or, still, in other words, psychic. Under this perspective, this context may keep affective load and generate some kind of psychic conflict for the subject. Psychic conflict, following the Freud' teachings (Freud, 1926/1976), *lató sensu*, which refers to the existence of antagonist demands that may generate inhibitions, symptoms, and anguish. Thus, based on the fundamental tenets of psychoanalysis, in order for the individual to "resolve" their issues, it is necessary to re-elaborate (*Durcharbeiten*) psychic

conflicts by searching for the nexus between inconsistent contents and the defenses used by these individuals aiming at defending themselves.

The process of re-elaboration of psychic conflicts is not simple. Frequently the individual is not capable of remembering their experiences, fantasies, or repressed contents. Consequently, the nexus between these contents is blocked and the individual, instead of remembering them, acts them out and compulsively repeats these actions without being conscience there are doing so. (Freud, 1914/2012). This compulsion for repetition leads to difficulties to the individual regarding their contact with the repressed content. In the case of Rafaela, in being able to bring this conflict to surface, realizing its entailments and implications for the interaction with other social media users, the participant was able to elaborate this content.

Another similar and yet more attached to the triggering of a conflict as a reaction facing adverse situations in life is the case of Joana. In her interview, she brought to surface the fact that using social media helped her to elaborate grief in two different situations:

I had to undergo surgery and I had to elaborate that I had to be quiet for 20 days in bed, with a hot sun outside. This was so because I could not move, and people posted on Facebook bikinis, the beach, and drinks. So I was distressed every time I logged onto Facebook. I had to elaborate it. Other situation was the death of my brother. It was a dramatic unexpected death; no one foresaw it. I had to spend eight hours at the morgue to do body recognition; I could not leave, otherwise I would lose the service the funerary had hired. Then people on Facebook started asking if I needed something, they showed support, solidarity. After the seventh day mass, I paid homage to him. I gathered some pictures and uploaded them on Facebook to show people he had kids, that he was a good father. After that, my niece asked me to post a letter she written for him. Everything was really cool, helped me a lot. So I think this is it. There is the good side, ludic, but there is also the drastic, the support, solidarity. This makes me feel safe.

Feeling secure and anchored before grief situations in which we should renounce what we intend to do, as Joana reports, bears relation to what we conceive as elaboration of psychic conflicts. Not least important, she points out the support and solidarity from her contacts in social media, as well as the usefulness of posting pictures and letters in difficult moments. In this context, Bousso, Ramos, Frizzo, Santos and Bousso (2014) also detected this repercussion and underline the diversity of feelings expresses in social media, which, according to the authors, allows its users to deal with contents and taboos characteristic of private domains and which are hardly treated openly, such as death and the process of dying.

In Joana's narrative, it is evident the grief elaboration related to the loss of a close relative, and the elaboration of restriction in her personal life. In both cases, in spite of external influence, this elaboration needed to be achieved by the individual in her intra-subjective world and, therefore, psychic. However, although the realization of the existence of this repercussion in users' subjectivity, it must be emphasized, based on the notions of psychoanalysis mentioned before, that the process of re-elaboration of psychic conflicts is more complex and demands that these conflicts be re-elaborated starting from the transference of psychoanalytic treatment in context (Freud 1914/2012). Thus we can interfere that re-elaboration, *stricto sensu*, does not occur fully in the use of social media in internet; however, it can be asserted that, as mentioned some participants in this study, there is indication of psychic elaboration that starts to come about in the intentions of social network environments.

The evident from this nucleus of sense brings with it new questions to the conception of subjectivity *prêt-à-porter*. According to Rolnik (1997), the result of the come about of this subjectivity is phenomenon of the deflation of sense and of loss of disruptive character of the psychoanalytic gadget, called by Freud "the pest", which consists in opening subjectivity to contemporary irruptions. In this perspective, if it is well possible to attest this phenomenon, the sense of psychic elaboration reveals a new possibility that needs to be better analyzed *a posteriori*: the advent of a certain psychic elaboration of conflicts and of adverse situations in interactions between social media users.

This nucleus of sense presented greater discrepancy regarding the segments of sex, date of birth, socioeconomic level, and ethnicity/skin color. Women who self declared white, of higher income and born

after the advent of the internet and social media, were the ones who more intensely manifested experiencing the sense of psychic elaboration as a repercussion of social media in subjectivity.

Time consuming: the risks of the inversion of productive time and socialization time

With respect to the revelation of the repercussion considered as positive, such as the sense of empowerment, of learning, and of psychic elaboration, we could not withdraw ourselves, in this mapping, from the repercussions considered to be negative by the participants. In this context, some participants mentioned that they feel they “lose time” when they are connected. An illustrative example of the effects of this repercussion could be observed in Veronica’s report, in which she empathizes how “distressed” she feels when she cannot check updates and notifications in her social medias, which takes a great portion of her time:

When my cellphone is running out of battery, I have to come up with a charger. I don't like it. I get distressed. In parties, I have my cell in my pocket and I am in complete agony. That I have to wait? I am there, I'm with my boyfriend, I'm with my friends. [Wait for what?] Notification, update, something.

In this report, the participant says she is distressed when she is not connected and most of all when her cellphone is running out of battery. To this patient, it occurs simply due to the fact that she “hopes” to see what other people comment, as well as hopes to get notification, and hopes to get “something”. In this sense, Serres (2003) argue that in this new virtual habitat, our time is divided, becoming a world where there are no distances and no references. This frightens, scares, and distresses, increases anxiety, because it creates dependency on others, removes limits and boundaries, and imposes new forms of interactions.

In this perspective, in our opinion, the narrative of this participant reflects what Fortin and Araújo (2013) point out as the irresistible desire to use social media, such as an obsession. However, not all users share this conception, as it can be observed in Claudio’s report:

[How frequently do you access the website? What do you usually do (posts, photos)?] I've been through two phases. The phase in which I accessed constantly to see about movies, cinema, to chat, updates from friends, and things related to dance. I also used it for work, to be “tuned into” what was happening. Today I use it to see what is going on with friends, five minutes, I take a general look at it, and then I close it. I don't post anything anymore.

Claudio’s report, in opposition to Veronica’s, mentions that currently he accesses Facebook for just five minutes during the day. However, even though this way of feeling compelled of using social media is not shared by other participants, such as is mentioned by Claudio, this is the repercussion which call scholars’ and people’s attention, especially of those who live with people who use social media in this way. In this research, only Veronica self declared as “addicted”; however, many times did it come up in interviews expressions such “I spend a lot of time”, and “I neglect to do other things”. Thus in the case of people who self declare as addicted, such as Veronica, not only the amount of time spent in social media draws attention, but also the fact that these people cannot stay long periods of time away from social media, as reports Mariana: “*I would live without it. But there are addicted people, who cannot stay one hour without connecting to it, this is a vice*”. It should be emphasized that this phenomenon reported by some participants is alarming and has acquired the status of pathology.

Researches in this topic point out to the possibility of social isolation and of the decline of interpersonal relations as consequences of social media and other internet gadgets. In this perspective, we can affirm that we too have observed in this investigation the paradox regarding the approximation of people who are geographically distant and the distancing of people who are physically close (Turkle, 2011). This phenomenon is manifested, as reports Ivo, in the following manner:

I think you get closer to people to a certain point, but also you distance yourself ... It is because at the same time you are socializing on the internet you are creating a barrier in real life, a distance caused

by Facebook. I think this sucks... sort of unnecessary because you are with the person at that moment, in real life and you leave her aside to check Facebook, to do something else.

As Ivo well explains it, often and again people “forget” about people to check social media, such as Facebook, and this generates a new species of “social barrier”, as the participant himself specified. In this context of analysis, this paradox becomes even more evident if we emphasize Ivo’s reports in light of Roseana’s: “But I keep browsing through my cellphone and don’t even pay attention to people on the street”. Between the street and social media, in the case of Roseana, her attention is directed to the former. Corroborating these two narratives, this same contrast between approximation and distancing, as reported by Eugenia:

I think that the main reason [for using Facebook] is keeping in touch with friends. Since I come from a different place, my family and my friends remain there. I came here so to keep in touch with them I think this is an easier means of communication.

To this participant, social media favor the contact with relatives who live in other cities. In the same fashion, Mariana highlights her experience of social media as an encounter of people, which makes them to feel happy, according to her:

This is how I see this: it is more like a meeting of people that were never together. So they feel happy. So, for something, someone needs something, help, all they have to do is post it on Facebook that people will respond... a message, or a comment. People who did not meet, meet on Facebook.

Before these opinions, we observe a contradiction, or paradox, between being geographically distant, and, at the same time, feeling close, and, nonetheless, being close, and yet, feeling these is a “virtual barrier”, as Ivo mentioned. In this regard, we infer that depending on the manner in which people use social media, this gadget can always come as an auxiliary in the maintenance of relationships already existent in the real world, and when this does not happen in an isolated manner, it tends to intensify them (Nicolai-da-Costa, 2005).

The sense of watching and being watched

Since they know they are being observed by other social media users, all participants in this study understood that, in a certain way, they are exposed and that it is possible for them to watch themselves mutually. This surveillance is broader and may be effective by companies, by gadgets that trace consumer profile of users, or even by people who stalk other people on social media. This is also clear with respect in police cases, in which the guilty party is found by their profile or pictures posted on social media.

The derived sense of this general notion of feeling of being watched was reported by participants as a connotation of being able to know about other people’s life through their profile, their posts and also what is omitted in social media. In this sense, Magda and Veronica’s reports, respectively, are representative: “Sometimes it is the case that one person who knows you uses a fake name or someone else’s name to browse through your life”, and “You know that curiosity, you know?”. These excerpts express some of the senses attributed to the sense of being watched, and, at the same time, being able to watch others.

In this context of analysis, the literature demonstrates that social media create an ambiguous notion of the classic conception of private and public (West, Lewis, & Currie, 2009). Another relevant characteristic of this ambiguity is that there exists an amount of personal information that is published in websites such as Facebook, and this makes users vulnerable targets of social stigma (Nosko, Wood, & Molema, 2010). Consequently, all participants are afraid of violence due to the high level of exposition (Rosa & Santos, 2014a), and they use tactics to be more safe leading to less exposure in these environments (Livingstone, 2009). In spite of this, being able to watch other people and being watched by other users is a tacit behavior, alleged by many participants in this study. This evidence was also

observed in a pilot interview conducted prior to the investigation that originated this study. In that interview, Gisela explained that people are constantly thinking of what could be reported:

*Facebook changes one's relationship with the world and with people around them, and consequently who they are. I always think of what can be published, I'm there, but I'm not, I'm always thinking in reporting the present or in being reported. It seems a more superficial life. There are things that we live that should not be reported. **People are constantly thinking of what should be reported.** ... This online unfolding maybe influences me in my choices, [in] how I'll come across. (added emphasis)*

To use the words of the interviewee, appearing and being reported on became characteristics that we can analyze as the synthesis and the antithesis of spontaneous appearance, premeditated and purposive, on the one hand, and sudden, unnoticed and forced, on the other. Therefore participants reported that they feel they are being watched and they feel they are watchers in an environment where it is possible to control what is seen. At this point, we observe a useful difference between this manner of surveillance called Society of Control (Deleuze & Parnet, 1977/2004), once the autonomy of the users awards a sense that goes beyond the mere controlled and watched.

In the environment of social media, users have more autonomy to watch other users and to restrain alleged watchers by controlling privacy options. Other tactic in order to avoid exposure is to avoid compromising posts. However, at any moment, someone could post an undesirable comment, and users can appear in random pictures, shared posts and comments. Thus, the sense of being watched and of being able to watch rises from the conception of the constant visibility of the self, as is reported by Claudio: "With Facebook, even if I am more moderate regarding comments and posts... it gave me more visibility. Visibility of people with respect to me. Of me with respect to other people."

Given these consideration, it is possible to observe that the sense of watching and that of being able to watch comprises a notion of visibility and of celebration of the "self", which varies depending on the users' profiles, mainly with respect to sex. Veronica reports that "Curiosity and knowing about everyone's lives ... When our boyfriend cheats on us, we find it out there". Curiosity and being aware of what happens in other people's lives were senses attributed, predominately, by female participants. Knowing about other people's lives, to some users, is something interesting. However, this is not always positive to people's well being, as indicated by Chou and Edge (2012), in emphasizing feeling of jealousy and envy among users.

Women in general demonstrate more interest in knowing about the life of their friends, relatives and acquaintances in social media. Men, on the other hand, present more interest for not exposing their personal lives in social media, and, only eventually, they demonstrate interest for knowing more about other people's lives. Thus there is greater prevalence of the sense of being able to watch among female participants, and of being watch among male participants. In spite of this evidence, it is not possible to rule out the possibility that there might be variation among men and women given the interests and affinities each users displays on social media (Rosa & Santos, 2014b). Even though this possibility of variation between watchers and watchees, the sense of surveillance, shared by all participants, remains the same in its broader conception.

Final considerations

After delineating this cartography, we retrieve some prominent evidence highlighted by participants: their constant visibility in presenting themselves, and in interacting with other users of social media in and outside this environment. This result is still controvert in the academic field and requires a specific analysis regarding its properties and its potential in the repercussion of subjectivity.

Considering the intensification of the flux of globalization processes and the fast technological developments, it is evident that subjectivities become more susceptible to the influences of the profusion of distinct universes connected by social media: the intimacy of users, their social context, and the current panorama of human civilization in relation to different social, political, economic and cultural progress and

backset. In this context, the diffusion of subjectivities ready to take (*prêt-à-porter*), according to Rolnik (1997), engenders two types of effects: the combat against identity reference, in order to give place to individuation, and “panic syndrome”, whose current detestability is taken to such a point of exacerbation that it surpasses the threshold of bearable.

The results presented in this cartography leads us to emphasize the effects of social media in subjectivity and the manifestation of elements of subjectivity of users that become visible and articulated by means of text and images. This perspective brings with it new challenges not only to psychoanalytic gadgets and to those who deal with mental health, such as dealing with individuals that experience the effects of this ebullition in their subjectivities.

Fortunately, participants in this research demonstrated positive effects in their multiple interactions with social media, such as senses of leaning, empowerment and psychic elaboration. However, in order to avoid generalizations, it is necessary to investigate how different types of subjective structures experience these effects.

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